

Message Text

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SUBJECT: ARTICLE ON "A 'JUST PARTITION' FOR SOUTH AFRICA?"

THE FOLLOWING ARTICLE APPEARED IN THE JULY 12 WASHINGTON
POST: A 'JUST PARTITION' FOR SOUTH AFRICA? BY RUSSELL
WARREN HOWE

WHITE SOUTH AFRICA IS COMING AROUND TO THE NOTION THAT HALF
A LOAF IS BETTER THAN SHARING. THE FOREIGN MINISTER,
ROELOF BOTHA, TOLD A QUESTIONER AT A WASHINGTON PRESS
CONFERENCE LAST MONTH THAT A "JUST PARTITION OF THE TERRI-
TORY AND POWER WOULD SOLVE ALL SOUTH AFRICA'S PROBLEMS."
BY SAYING "PARTITION" INSTEAD OF "SEPARATE DEVELOPMENT" --
THE PRESENT POLICY OF CREATING SEMI-AUTONOMOUS NATIVE
RESERVES CALLED BANTUSTANS -- BOTHA WAS USING A CODE WORD
AS IMPORTANT IN ITS CONTEXT AS SAYING "SECURE" INSTEAD OF
"RECOGNIZED" BORDERS FOR ISRAEL.

THE CARTER ADMINISTRATION'S INSISTENCE ON FULL AND EQUAL
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POLITICAL PARTICIPATION BY ALL OF SOUTH AFRICA'S CITIZENS
HAS CREATED A FUROR SOUTH OF CAPRICORN. WHITE SOUTH
AFRICANS -- WHO ALONE ELECT THE GOVERNMENT -- ARE ALMOST
UNANIMOUSLY DETERMINED NOT TO BE MINORITY MEMBERS IN A
MULTIRACIAL DEMOCRACY. THEIR LEADERS CANNOT BUCK SUCH

A TIDE, EVEN IF THEY WANTED TO -- AND THEY DON'T. BOTHA

SAID THAT IF CARTER WANTED ONE-MAN/ONE-VOTE "UNDER ONE GOVERNMENT" -- ANOTHER CODE PHRASE -- THEN THE ANSWER IS "NEVER." BUT WHITE SOUTH AFRICAN'S LEADERS GRUDGINGLY ACCEPT THAT HUMAN RIGHTS IS A NOTION WHOSE TIME HAS REGRET- TABLY COME, EVEN IN SOUTH AFRICA -- PERHAPS MOST OF ALL IN SOUTH AFRICA, THE WORLD'S CHAMPION HUMAN-RIGHTS VIOLATOR.

THE QUESTION FOR THE WHITE LEADERS IS: WHAT COULD THEY GET BLACKS TO ACCEPT WITH ENOUGH ENTHUSIASM TO CONVINCE THE WORLD? RELATIVE MODERATES SEEK A CONVOLUTED ACCOMMODATION THAT THE MORE ETHNOCENTRIC MAJORITY AMONG THE WHITES -- LIKE THE ETHNOCENTRIC BLACK LEADERS WITH WHOM THEY MUST DEAL -- SEE AS IMPRACTICABLE. A "MODERATE," EDUCATION MINISTER PIET KOORNHOF, HAS RECOMMENDED A CULTURAL CONFEDERATION UNDER WHICH AFRICANS, EURAFRICANS AND ASIANS WOULD SOMEHOW "RUN THEIR OWN AFFAIRS" INSIDE A WHITE-DOMINATED SOCIETY, WITH WHITES ALSO DOMINATING A MULTIRACIAL CONFEDERAL CABINET. IT IS HARD TO SEE AFRICAN OPINION, INSIDE OR OUTSIDE SOUTH AFRICA, ACCEPTING THIS. HARD-LINERS SEEK A GUARANTEE OF CONTINUED RACIAL SEPARATION IN GOVERNMENT. HENCE BOTHA'S BOLD DECISION TO BITE THE PARTITION BULLET.

THE PROPOSALS THAT THE RULING NATIONAL PARTY FINALLY PRODUCES WILL REFLECT THE VIEWS OF THE BROEDERBOND, WHICH RULES THE "NATS." THE BROEDERBOND IS THE SEMISECRET UNCLASSIFIED

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SOCIETY TO WHICH VIRTUALLY ALL AFRIKAANERS -- DUTCH-DESCENT WHITES WHO SPEAK AFRIKAANS, OR PIDGIN-DUTCH -- MUST BELONG TO HOLD INFLUENTIAL POSITIONS IN GOVERNMENT, THE CIVIL SERVICE OR THE PRESS. ITS PRESENT CHAIRMAN, GERRIT VILJOEN, RECTOR OF THE RAND UNIVERSITY, WAS RECENTLY QUOTED AS SAYING THAT WHITES "CANNOT HANG ON TO THE WHOLE OF THIS COUNTRY IF THEY WANT TO RETAIN A WORTHWHILE PART OF IT." HE TALKS OF EXPANDING THE SCATTERED MOSAIC OF BANTUSTANS AND MAKING THE SPRAWLING BLACK GHETTOS OF THE WHITE AGGLOMERATIONS INTO "CITY STATES." HE WOULD STILL LEAVE THE COUNTRY'S 18 PER CENT WHITE POPULATION WITH 70 PER CENT OF THE TERRITORY, INCLUDING ALL MAJOR MINERAL RESOURCES AND THE BEST FARMING LAND.

THE BROEDERBOND, WHICH INCLUDES 19 OF THE 24 PRESENT CABINET MINISTERS (INCLUDING PRIME MINISTER BALTHAZAR JOHANNES VORSTER) HAS LONG FAVORED PARTITIONING SOUTH AFRICA. IN 1963, A SECRET BROEDERBOND REPORT APPEARED IN A PORT ELIZABETH, NATAL, NEWSPAPER, RECOMMENDING A DIVISION ALONG THE DRakensberg MOUNTAIN CHAIN. THE AFRICANS WOULD BE GIVEN NATAL; THE WHITES WOULD KEEP THE REST OF THE COUNTRY. NATAL'S MAJOR RESOURCES ARE COAL,

AGRICULTURE, TOURISM AND TWO MAJOR PORTS -- AND THE WHITES WHO WOULD HAVE TO MAKE ROOM FOR THE AFRICANS WOULD BE MOSTLY ENGLISH-SPEAKERS, NOT AFRIKAANERS.

THE NATAL PLAN IS NOW ONLY ONE OF MANY, ALL AIMED AT KEEPING WHAT VILJOEN CALLS A "WORTHWHILE PART" OF THE COUNTRY FOR WHITES. VILJOEN AND THE "12 APOSTLES," WHO TOGETHER HEAD THE SOCIETY'S 13 "WATCHDOG COMMITTEES," SEE A FUTURE WHITE SOUTH AFRICA IN WHICH WHITES WILL DO THEIR OWN HOUSEWORK AND MENIAL TASKS IN INDUSTRY AS THE PRICE OF AVOIDING INTEGRATION.

BUT WHAT MAKES PARTITION LIKELY IS NOT JUST THAT AFRI-
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KAANERS ARE EMOTIONALLY ATTRACTED TO IT -- AND THAT MOST OTHER WHITES SHARE THEIR DESIRE TO REMAIN UNDER WHITE GOVERNMENT -- BUT THAT AFRICANS WOULD SEE IT AS THE SECOND BEST SOLUTION. THEIR "BEST" SOLUTION -- DRIVING ALL SETTLERS OUT, ALGERIA-STYLE -- WOULD REQUIRE A VERY LONG AND VERY BLODDY STRUGGLE.

THE "MULTIRACIAL" RHETORIC OF BLACK SOUTH AFRICAN LEADERS IS AIMED AT REASSURING AND SHAMING THE GOVERNMENT, AND A WORLD OPINION; BUT PROBABLY ONLY THE 2.4 MILLION SOUTH AFRICANS OF MIXED DESCENT SEEK INTEGRATION -- WITH THE OLDER "COLOREDS" HOPING FOR ABSORPTION BY WHITE SOCIETY, AND THE YOUNGER ONES DIVIDED AS TO WHICH PREDOMINANT GROUP TO TURN TO. PARTITION WOULD IN FACT FACE THEM WITH JUST THAT CHOICE, AS IT WOULD THE 750,000 ASIANS.

A CONSIDERABLE PERIOD OF STRIKES, ECONOMIC BOYCOTTS, PASSIVE RESISTANCE, URBAN GUERRILLA WARFARE AND OTHER EXPRESSIONS OF POPULAR DISCONTENT IS LIKELY BEFORE THE GOVERNMENT REALLY FACES THE STARK REALITIES OF A "JUST" PARTITION. THE WHITES' ONLY "HISTORIC" CLAIM IS TO THE WESTERN CAPE. WHO WOULD GET WHAT RESOURCES? HOW WOULD EXISTING SERVICES BE SHARED? INDIA AND CYPRUS SHOW HOW IMPORTANT IT IS TO TRY TO ACHIEVE PARTITION BY NEGOTIATION, NOT CONFLICT. THE WHITES HAVE A USEFUL BARGAINING CARD IN THEIR TECHNICAL SKILLS. (AS THEY WELL KNOW: SOUTH AFRICA HAS THREATENED TO WITHDRAW ITS TECHNICAL AND MEDICAL PERSONNEL FROM NAMIBIA AT INDEPENDENCE, UNLESS ITS FUTURE GOVERNMENT ACCEPTS A JOINT DEFENSE OF THE ANGOLAN BORDER.)

HOW MANY OF THE 4.3 MILLION WHITES WILL WANT TO STAY? WHAT IS THEIR "ENTITLEMENT"? MUCH WILL BE MADE OF "300 YEARS OF WHITE PRESENCE" -- WHEN OVER HALF THE WHITE
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POPULATION HAS COME IN SINCE 1945. SINCE THE FIRST TWO

GENERATIONS OF "FOUNDING FATHERS" BROUGHT NO WOMEN, THEIR DESCENDENTS ARE TO BE FOUND IN THE "COLORED" GHETTOS, NOT THE COUNTRY CLUBS. (THEN HOLLAND BEGAN DEPORTING PROSTITUTES FOR A FEW DECADES, BUT FEW WANT TO CLAIM THAT CONNECTION.) THE LIKELIHOOD IS THAT VERY SUBSTANTIAL NUMBERS OF WHITES -- ESPECIALLY EDUCATED YOUTHS -- WILL WANT TO LEAVE, AND THAT ABSORBING HUNDREDS OF THOUSANDS OF THEM IN NORTH AND SOUTH AMERICA, EUROPE AND AUSTRALIA WILL BE A NOT INSIGNIFICANT PROBLEM.

OVER A DECADE AGO, I ASKED AN AFRIKAANER EDITOR WHAT HE THOUGHT ABOUT PARTITION. HIS ACCENT UNDERSCORING HIS SCORN, HE ASKED: "AN 'OW DO YOU PARTITION THE RRILRRROADS? 'OW DO YOU PARTITION THE TELEEPHONE LINES?" NOW THESE FORMERLY UNTHINKABLE QUESTIONS WILL HAVE TO BE THOUGHT OUT -- AND THE MORE SOBERLY, THE BETTER.
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